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was normally followed by immediate publication. Accidental causes, of course, might and sometimes apparently did postpone such publication, but in the present instance such a thing is most unlikely. On July 6th, 1593, Marlowe had been just one month in his grave, and contemporary allusions show London to have been agog with stories of his life, his opinions, and the manner of his death. In such circumstances it would be surprising in the highest degree for a publisher to withhold the issue of the dead poet's masterpiece until nine months or more after it had been officially licensed.

It is, therefore, my belief that Mary Clarke had before her on October 3rd, 1751 a copy of a first edition of *Edward II*, otherwise unknown. It would be interesting and important to ascertain whether it has since disappeared beyond recovery. So far my searches have been fruitless, but there appears still ground for hope that inquiry among the obscurer private libraries of England may lead to a very valuable literary and bibliographical discovery.

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#### A PARALLEL TO AUCASSIN ET NICOLETTE VI, 26.

To the parallels to the interesting passage in *Aucassin et Nicolette* (VI, 26, ed. Suchier), in which Aucassin declares his preference of hell to heaven, there should be added the following story about Niccolò Machiavelli, quoted by Bayle (*Dictionnaire* [sic] *historique et critique*, ed. Des Maizeaux, Amsterdam, 1734, vol. IV, p. 14, n. L) from the Jesuit Etienne Binet (*Du Salut d'Origène*, Paris, 1629, pp. 359-361): "On arriue à ce detestable point d'honneur, où arriua Machiauel sur la fin de sa vie : car il eut cette illusion peu deuant que rendre son esprit. Il vit vn tas de pauures gens, comme coquins, deschirez, affamez, contrefaits, fort mal en ordre, & en assez petit nombre, on luy dit que c'estoit ceux de Paradis, desquels il estoit escrit, *Beati pauperes, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum*. Ceux-cy estans retirez, on fit paroistre vn nombre innombrable de personnages

pleins de grauité & de majesté, on les voyoit comme vn Senat, où on traitoit d'affaires d'estat, & fort serieuses, il entrevid Platon, Aristote, Seneque, Plutarque, Tacite, & d'autres de cette qualité. Il demanda qui estoient ces Messieurs-là si venerables, on luy dit que c'estoient les damnez, & que c'estoient des ames reprouuées du Ciel, *Sapientia huius sæculi, inimica est Dei*. Cela estant passé, on luy demanda desquels il vouloit estre. Il respondit, qu'il ayroit beaucoup mieux estre en enfer avec ces grands esprits, pour deuiser avec eux des affaires d'Estat, que d'estre avec cette vermine de ces belistres qu'on luy auoit fait voir. Et à tant il mourut, & alla voir comme vont les affaires d'Estat de l'autre monde."

Another form of the story is mentioned by Bayle as occurring in the *Epistolæ* of François and Jean Hotman. It is as follows: "Wolphius nuper Augustæ mortuus, in suis *Commentariis in Tuscul.* quas anno superiore mihi donavit, Machiavellum scelerum, impietatum et flagitiorum magistrum appellat, ac testatur illum quodam loco scripsisse, sibi multo optabilius esse post mortem ad Inferos et diabolos detrudi, quàm in cælum ascendere. Nam hîc nullos reperiturum, nisi mendiculos et misellos quosdam Monachos, Heremitas, Apostolos; illîc victurum se cum Cardinalibus, cum Papis, Regibus et Principibus" [Letter of François Hotman, December 28, 1580, in *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum . . . Epistolæ*, Amstelædami, 1700].

Villari, in discussing the story in his well-known work, *Niccolò Machiavelli e I suoi Tempi* (2d edition, vol. III, p. 368 ff., Milan, 1897), says that he has been unable to find the book cited by Hotman as his authority, and does not know whether it was ever published. This statement is strange, inasmuch as the commentary, which is by the celebrated German humanist Hieronymus Wolf, is mentioned in so common a reference-book as Pökel's *Philologisches Schriftsteller-Lexikon* (Leipzig, 1882). The book seems to be rare, however, as neither the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, nor the Cambridge University Library possesses a copy of it, and Johann Caspar Orelli states in his edition of the *Tusculans* (Oxford, 1834, p. 365) that he has never seen it, and would "feel greatly obliged" for the loan of it. Copies of it are to be found in

the Library of All Souls College at Oxford, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, and in the Royal Public Library at Dresden (for the last see Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1821, No. 4505). The title-page reads: *M. T. C. Tusculanarum Quæstionum Aphorismi . . . cum explicatione Hieronymi Wolfii . . . Basileæ . . . per Eusebium Episcopium, M. D. LXXX.*

Villari concludes that the story of the dream, although nowhere mentioned in Machiavelli's writings, was suggested by various daring passages in the works of the author of the *Principe*, and may even have been related in jest by him, though not when he was lying at the point of death. This view he thinks supported by Hotman's statement that Machiavelli had expressed in his works a preference for the infernal regions. The original text of Wolf, which I have consulted at Oxford, indicates clearly, however, that Hotman was quoting from memory, and erred in saying that the idea was to be found in Machiavelli's writings. In an account of various "Voces blasphemæ," to illustrate the passage "Non enim temere nec fortuito sati et creati sumus . . ." (I, 49), he says (vol. I, p. 594, under the marginal heading "Machiauellii cælum") : "Nec tamen desunt belli (si Diis placet) et faceti homunculi : qui Machiauellum, scelerum magistrum, et perniciosum principum assentatorem, secuti, se Inferos cœlis antepone, ioco scilicet, dicant : quod cælum non nisi pauculos vetulos monachos, et superstitiosas aniculas habeat : apud Inferos uerò maxima frequentia degant pontifices, reges, Cæsares, principes, et infiniti bellissimi homunculi, et mulierculæ elegantissimæ." The fact that the same idea had been expressed by Teofilo Folengo in 1521 (see Suchier's note to the passage quoted) makes it seem likely that Machiavelli's enemies, perhaps shortly after his death in 1527, fathered this ancient witticism upon him in order to blacken his reputation. It thus appears probable that "quel celebrato sogno," referred to by Busini in his letter to Varchi in 1549 (see Villari, *l. c.*, p. 368), was substantially the same as that narrated by Binet a century after Machiavelli's death.

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#### A NOTE ON THE "SCHEIRER RHYTHMUS."

Among the versions of the allegory of the *Four Daughters of God* discussed by Miss Traver in her excellent dissertation on this subject,<sup>1</sup> the so-called "Scheirer Rythmus," a thirteenth century Latin poem edited from a codex in the Bavarian cloister at Scheiren, by August Hartmann,<sup>2</sup> occupies a somewhat exceptional position. The use of the popular Goliardic stanza and the introduction into the allegory of a new motive, that of a dispute between Faith and Reason, are found, so far as I know, only here. It has apparently escaped the notice of those who have had occasion to mention the *Rhythmus* that the poem bears a close relation to a Latin "debate" in the same measure, the work, probably, of Philippe de Grève, Chancellor of the University of Paris and writer of theological works and verse at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The poem is entitled in the unique manuscript which preserves it "Dyalogus fidei et rationis compositus a Phylippo Cancellario Parisense . . ."; it is edited with other poetry of Philippe's by R. Peiper.<sup>3</sup>

In the "Scheirer Rhythmus" the contention between the daughters, in which Justice and Mercy (*Pietas*) alone take part, is followed by an account of the marriage of the Virgin. While the heavenly hosts are singing the nuptial hymn, Reason appears and disturbs their harmony with philosophic objections. She is represented by five heretics, Arrius, Marcion, Plato, Nestor, and Jovinianus, who set forth their arguments one after another in a single stanza each. Reason

<sup>1</sup> *The Four Daughters of God* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs), 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, xxiii, 173-189.

<sup>3</sup> *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, vii, 409 ff.